

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 VIENNA 04219 01 OF 02 102013Z

63

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 USIE-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 IO-14

OIC-04 AEC-11 AECE-00 ACDE-00 DRC-01 /135 W

----- 111619

O P 101857Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2736

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 4219

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: DATA

REF: A) USNATO 2536; B) VIENNA 2977; C) USNATO 2418;

D) STATE 93115; E) USNATO 2005; F) STATE 096902

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE CONTAINS DELEGATION
RECOMMENDATIONS ON TREATMENT OF MBFR DATA FOR
WASHINGTON USE IN PREPARING GUIDANCE FOR USNATO. END SUMMARY.

2. USNATO (PARA 4, USNATO 2536) HAS RAISED FOR CON-
SIDERATION BY WASHINGTON AGENCIES TIMING OF NATO
ACTION ON POLITICAL ASPECTS OF MBFR DATA, SUGGESTING
THAT DECISIONS ON THESE POLITICAL ASPECTS SHOULD BE
DEFERRED UNTIL CAPITALS WERE READY TO ADDRESS THEM.

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PAGE 02 VIENNA 04219 01 OF 02 102013Z

IN THE INTERESTS OF ACCELERATING WHAT MIGHT OTHER-

WISE BE A LENGTHY PROCESS, DELEGATION RECOMMENDS THAT IN FIRST SPC DISCUSSION OF WORKING GROUP REPORT ON DATA, (A) USNATO WOULD TAKE POSITION THAT TRANSMITTAL OF DATA SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY AN INSTRUCTION TO AD HOC GROUP ON USE OF DATA FOR NEGOTIATING PURPOSES. (B) MISSION WOULD ALSO TABLE A DRAFT INSTRUCTION TO AD HOC GROUP, WITH RECOMMENDATION THAT NATO DECISION ON DRAFT INSTRUCTION TO ACCOMPANY DATA BE TAKEN BY MAY 31 AT LATEST SO AS NOT TO IMPEDE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS. FYI: WE BELIEVE THAT IF ASSESSMENTS ARE CORRECT THAT SOVIETS MAY NOT MOVE ON MBFR UNTIL MOST OPEN CSCE ISSUES ARE RESOLVED, AT LEAST IN PRINCIPLE, AD HOC GROUP WILL HAVE ASCERTAINED THIS BY THIRD WEEK IN MAY AND WILL THEN WISH TO LEAVE PHASING FOR A TIME AND MOVE TO DISCUSSION OF DATA. END FYI.

3. DATA QUESTIONS WE IDENTIFY FOR POLITICAL DECISION ARE:

(A) SHOULD THE REVISED TOTAL FIGURE FOR NATO GROUND FORCES BE USED IN NEGOTIATIONS?

(B) WHAT TACTICAL USE SHOULD BE MADE OF THESE NEW FIGURES?

(C) HOW FAR INTO DETAIL SHOULD ALLIES GET IN DISCUSSING DATA WITH THE EAST AT THIS STAGE?

(D) SHOULD ALLIES IN COURSE OF DATA DISCUSSION BE PREPARED TO MENTION AIR FORCE MANPOWER DATA AND, IF SO, WHAT USE SHOULD BE MADE OF IT?

(E) WHAT POSITION SHOULD NATO TAKE, AFTER ANOMALIES IN FORCE ORGANIZATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST HAVE BEEN MORE CLEARLY IDENTIFIED, AS TO INCLUSION OR EXCLUSION OF DIFFERENTLY ORGANIZED FORCE COMPONENTS FROM GROUND FORCE TOTALS OF EACH SIDE?

4. WE BELIEVE THE FIRST FOUR OF THESE ITEMS SHOULD BE DECIDED BY NAC PRIOR TO MAY 31 AND INCLUDED IN SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 04219 01 OF 02 102013Z

INSTRUCTION TO AD HOC GROUP TRANSMITTING DATA. LAST QUESTION IS NOW UNDER STUDY BY USG; THE DELEGATION HAS MADE RECOMMENDATIONS WITH REGARD TO IT (PARA 18 OF VIENNA 3246). IT IS PROBABLY PREMATURE FOR NATO TO LAUNCH A STUDY OF THIS QUESTION AT THIS TIME.

5. ADOPTION OF REVISED GROUND FORCE TOTAL. WORKING

GROUP REPORT CONTAINED IN REFTEL (A) RAISES FOR POLITICAL DECISION THE ISSUE OF USING THE REVISED GROUND FORCE FIGURE FOR NATO IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST (SUMMARY PARAGRAPH 11A OF REFTEL A). THIS QUESTION IS ALSO RAISED IN PRAGRAPH 2 OF USNATO 2418 AND DISCUSSED IN STATE 093115. DELEGATION STRONGLY RECOMMENDS THAT, WHATEVER NEW FIGURE IS FINALLY DECIDED ON, THIS FIGURE BE ADOPTED FOR USE IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH EAST. OUR REASONS ARE:

(A) THE NEW FIGURE WILL BE OBJECTIVELY ACCURATE TO THE BEST OF NATO'S ABILITY;

(B) ITS EXISTENCE WILL SOONER OR LATER BECOME KNOWN TO THE EAST AND ALSO QUITE POSSIBLY TO THE WESTERN PRESS;

(C) THE ALLIES COULD USE THE REVISED NATO GROUND FORCE TOTAL IN DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST WITH THE AIM OF ATTEMPTING TO REACH AN AGREED DATA BASE FOR THE GROUND FORCES OF BOTH SIDES, WHILE RESERVING THEIR POSITION AS TO WHETHER THE INCREASE IN ALLIED GROUND FORCE STRENGTH SHOULD BE APPLIED SO AS TO INCREASE ALLIED REDUCTIONS OR TO RAISE THE LEVEL OF THE COMMON CEILING BY THE SAME AMOUNT. THIS QUESTION SHOULD BE GIVEN FURTHER STUDY IN CAPITALS AND IN NATO. WHETHER IT WAS DECIDED ONE WAY OR THE OTHER, IT COULD MAKE THE COMMON CEILING IN GROUND FORCES MORE NEGOTIABLE WITH THE EAST BY NARROWING THE GAP BETWEEN NATO AND PACT FORCES TO BE WITHDRAWN TO REACH THE COMMON CEILING.

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 04219 02 OF 02 102006Z

63

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 4219

FROM US REP MBFR

6. TACTICAL USE OF NEW TOTAL. WE RECOMMEND THAT, AS FAR AS NATO INSTRUCTIONS TO THE AD HOC GROUP FOR USE OF THE NEW FIGURES ARE CONCERNED, THE INSTRUCTIONS SHOULD STATE THAT THE AD HOC GROUP SHOULD DETERMINE TACTICAL USE OF THE NEW FIGURES IN A WAY WHICH WILL GET THE GREATEST RETURN FROM THE EAST FOR WHAT MIGHT BE PRESENTED TO THE EAST AS A NATO CONCESSION.

7. FOR INFORMATION OF WASHINGTON AGENCIES, OUR INTENDED TACTICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THIS DATA, WHEN THE APPROPRIATE STAGE IN DEVELOPMENT OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST IS REACHED, WOULD BE TO GET AD HOC GROUP AGREEMENT LOCALLY FIRST TO ADVANCE TO THE EAST A COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN OF THE ORIGINAL 777,000 FIGURE IN RETURN FOR COMPARABLE INFORMATION ON COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN OF WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES. FOR THE COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN OF THE 777,000 FIGURE, WE WOULD EXPECT TO GET AD HOC GROUP AGREEMENT LOCALLY TO USE THE US
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PAGE 02 VIENNA 04219 02 OF 02 102006Z

COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN (TABLE III B 1 OF DOD NATO FACT BOOK PART I 15 MARCH 1974). AT SOME STAGE IN THIS DISCUSSION, WE WOULD EXPECT THE EAST TO QUESTION THE ACCURACY OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY GROUND FORCE TOTALS. IF SO, THE ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES COULD AGREE TO REVIEW THEIR DATA HOLDINGS. IN SUBSEQUENT SESSIONS WITH THE EAST, THE ALLIES WOULD TELL EASTERN REPS THAT THEY HAD REVIEWED ALLIED DATA ON NATO FORCES AND, THROUGH THE USE OF UPDATED INFORMATION (OR AS RESULT OF AGREED SHIFTS RESULTING FROM DEFINITIONAL CLARIFICATION), HAD COME UP WITH SOME REVISIONS AS A RESULT. THEY WOULD THEN GIVE THE EAST THE COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN OF THE REVISED NEW NATO TOTAL. AFTER CANVASSING VARIOUS WAYS OF MOVING TO REVISED NEW NATO TOTAL, WE HAVE CONCLUDED THAT ABOVE WOULD BE BEST METHOD. WE RECOMMEND THAT WASHINGTON AGENCIES APPROVE ITS USE. WHETHER OR NOT THIS IS THE CASE, THE DELEGATION STRONGLY RECOMMENDS THAT NO FORMAL NATO DECISION ON TACTICAL USE OF DATA BE TAKEN AND THAT THIS BE LEFT TO AD HOC TO DECIDE (ON BASIS OF INSTRUCTIONS FROM NATIONAL CAPITALS).

8. LEVEL OF DETAIL TO BE DISCUSSED WITH EAST. THE QUESTION HAS BEEN RAISED IN THE NATO DATA WORKING GROUP (PARA 3, USNATO 2536) AS TO THE LEVEL OF DETAIL ALLIES SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS WITH EAST AT THIS STAGE. AS PARAGRAPH ABOVE INDICATES, WE WOULD RECOMMEND USE OF A HIGH-LEVEL OF AGGREGATION. WHAT WE WOULD INTEND TO USE WITH THE EAST AT THIS STAGE IS ONLY COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWNS. WE WOULD NOT INTEND TO USE WITH THE EAST AT THIS STAGE IS ONLY COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWNS. WE WOULD NOT INTEND TO USE UNIT OR FUNCTIONAL BREAKDOWNS.

9. HOW TO USE AIR FORCE DATA. WORKING GROUP REPORT IN REFTEL (A) RAISES QUESTION OF HOW ALLIES SHOULD USE DATA ON AIR FORCE STRENGTH. WE RECOMMEND AD HOC GROUP SHOULD BE AUTHORIZED TO USE AIR FORCE DATA IN FORM OF OVERALL AGGREGATES FOR EAST AND WEST TO REINFORCE THE POINT THAT THE MAIN DISPARITY AND DESTABILIZING ELEMENT IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS IS THE DISPARITY BETWEEN THE GROUND FORCE TOTALS ON BOTH SIDES. SINCE IT IS POSSIBLE THAT ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES MIGHT HAVE TO GIVE COUNTRY-BY-COUNTRY BREAKDOWN OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN ORDER TO BRING HOME THIS POINT, THEY SHOULD BE AUTHORIZED TO DO SO, BUT NOT AT THIS STAGE TO GO BEYOND TO UNIT OR FUNCTIONAL BREAKDOWN.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 04219 02 OF 02 102006Z

10. THIS APPROACH WOULD OBTAIN THE NECESSITY FOR A POLITICAL DECISION FROM THE ALLIES AT THIS TIME TO INCLUDE AIR FORCE MANPOWER, A SUBJECT WHICH ALLIES SHOULD STUDY FURTHER WITH A VIEW TOWARD REACHING AN AGREED DECISION, WHICH MIGHT NOWHERE BE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE IN THE LIMITED TIME AT OUR DISPOSAL.

11. INCLUSION OF NETHERLANDS RESERVISTS. WE NOT (PARA 6B OF WORKING GROUP REPORT) THAT CURRENT NATO FIGURES APPARENTLY CONTINUE TO INCLUDE 7,000 NETHERLANDS "SHORT LEAVE" RESERVISTS IN REVISED CURRENT NATO GROUND FORCE TOTAL. DELEGATION FULLY AGREES WITH WASHINGTON AGENCIES THAT THIS INCLUSION HIGHLY DISADVANTAGEOUS TO ALLIES AND STRONGLY RECOMMENDS DELETION OF THIS CONTINGENT FROM OVERALL TOTAL. OUR REASONS ARE THAT (A) INCLUSION OF NETHERLANDS CONTINGENT IS NOT IN CONFORMITY WITH DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES ALLIES HAVE GIVEN EAST IN INFORMAL SESSION ON APRIL 8, 1974, WHICH WAS "ALL ARMY PERSONNEL ON ACTIVE DUTY IN THE UNIFORMED SERVICES OF NATO COUNTRIES WHO ARE LOCATED IN BELGIUM, THE FRG, LUXEMBOURG, AND THE NETHERLANDS". INCLUSION THEREFORE WOULD NEGATE BASIC DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO ESTABLISH IN COMMON WITH EAST. (B) INCLUDING RESERVISTS OF ANY KIND IN NATO GROUND FORCE TOTAL BLURS DISTINCTION BETWEEN ACTIVE DUTY PERSONNEL AND RESERVISTS WHICH IT IS HIGHLY IMPORTANT FOR ALLIES TO MAINTAIN AND WOULD OPEN DOOR FOR EASTERN EFFORTS TO INCLUDE RESERVISTS UNDER MBFR

REDUCTIONS AND CONTROLS. WE WOULD CONSIDER THIS A SERIOUS
NEGATIVE DEVELOPMENT. HUMES

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